/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 131 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half 137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, [132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life 101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the 179 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of [137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost [487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a [197] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

2: Becher--i E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/V/

Foreword

114 101 This monograph contains the results of a nine-month investigation which I conducted from October 1955 to June 1956 among two Indian tribes of northwest Brazil which are as yet unknown to science.

● 121 My journey and the analysis of its results were made possible through the generous support of the Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft /German Research Association/, for which I am deeply indebted to it.

114 I should like cordially to thank my esteemed teacher, Herr Prof. Dr. Franz Termer, for regarding this work, the completion of which he supported actively and in an advisory capacity, worthy of inclusion in the series of reports of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/.

I was encouraged by Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, head of the study division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, to seek out these as yet uninvestigated tribes north of the middle Rio Negro. [122] Through his efforts I also obtained the approval of the Director and was given all possible assistance by this organization founded by Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, as well as a free flight with a military plane from Rio de Janeiro to Manaus. Hence I feel a sincere desire to express my gratitude to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially to Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro and the Brazilian Air Force.

122 I thank the University of São Paulo, above all the Dean, Herr Dr. Paulo Sawaya, and the Assistant Dean Herr Prof. Dr. Antonio Soares Amora, for granting me a stipend from June 1954 to September 1955, which made it possible for me to broaden my knowledge of Brazilian ethnology under such outstanding scholars as Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and Herr Prof. Dr. Egon Schaden and to prepare myself thoroughly for the subsequent work in the field. To these two gentlemen I shall remain deeply indebted.

114 Valuable advice which was very useful to me on my expedition was given me by Herr Prof. Dr. med. Henrique da Rocha Lima (†),

/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).

The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists who have studied this matter[1] is that it is a matter of a Circum-Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence, owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have, however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[1] [i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/221 cont./

765 775 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĭkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĭkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 [276] The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their [756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablf pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

● 121 771 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of [184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 756 791 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a different supernatural sphere.

793 776 The first of the three is the hɛwĭawán, or the priest, who is the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

/433/ Memoir on the Culture of the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114 * The author of this work is a missionary of a North American mission, the "New Tribes Mission," who has lived for several years among the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. Without presuming to be an ethnologist, Mr. Barker has prepared this report containing his observations, and, having kindly sent it to the Ministro de Justicia for his information and for publication, the Comisión Indigenista has accepted it for these pages of the Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, considering its importance as firsthand information concerning a remote tribe scarcely studied up to now. Direct observations made over a period of several years, such as those revealed to us by Mr. Barker in a simple and objective fashion, are of positive utility for
[128] ethnologists and ethnographers. In the translation of the original from English to Spanish, we tried to adhere as closely as possible to the words and expressions of the author himself, without having recourse to technical terms. -- (Note by the translator, Walter
MDO Dupouy.) /It is to be noted that Mr. Dupouy was the original translater from the English to Spanish, but not the HRAF translator from the Spanish to English./

121 Most of the data included in this memoir are the result of my own observations. Observations made by other members of the staff of the "New Tribes" Mission, who have also collaborated, are included as well. They are: Mr. Edwin Killam and his wife,

/433 cont./

121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

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131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

197 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

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Raids among the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

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* Mr. James Barker has prepared this work as a result of his many years with the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. In this Boletín (Year I, Vol. I, Caracas, June-December, 1953, Nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489 /see 7: Barker, this file/) he presented a report of his observations under the title of "Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika /Memoir on the Culture of the Waica/." The present work is the result of his observations, which, revealed in an objective and simple manner, are of positive value for ethnologists and ethnographers.

121 I have been asked for more information about the raid. As I am not sure of which one I am asked about, I will tell about several, especially those about which I have quite detailed information.

574 628 In February of 1951 the aldea of Liacoatjeti invited the aldea of Bisheasetjeti to a Pijiguao or palm festival. The men of Liacoatjeti had gone on a special hunt to get a supply of meat. There was to have been an abundance of every type of food. There were to have been special dances, the taking of yopo, and other things which they do on such festive occasions.

574 628 721 But the invitation was a trick which those of Liatcoatjeti /sic/ had planned in order to be able to kill, if possible, all of the men of Bisheasetjeti and capture their women. Batanoetjeti and other aldeas which were enemies of Bisheasetjeti were invited to hide outside of the aldea and shoot at any man who tried to get away. Since they did not need to feed anybody, the Liacoatjeti did not bother to go hunting.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Venezuelan Indians SS4

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The Indians of the Upper Orinoco—Guaharibos and Makiritares

Y
• 121 SINCE Theodor Koch-Grünberg's pronouncements on the subject, anthropologists and ethnologists are agreed that the Indians inhabiting the Guiana *massif* fall into three distinct " layers " of population. Differentiation between the layers is relatively easy as each represents a different stage of development, and there has been no marked overlapping of territory. The newly-arrived groups thrust back the original occupants either violently or gradually and then infiltrated themselves among the earlier arrivals. The vastness of the region and the thinness of the ever-shifting population made such occupation simple. Indeed, the great Guiano-Amazonian forests support fewer human beings than some parts of the world where there is an almost complete lack of vegetation. Paul Lecointe estimated in 1920 that the population density was about one inhabitant for every twenty-seven square miles.

Trade and war have brought about some racial mixing, but strong racial customs and the barriers of language have done much to retain the individual characteristics of the groups. Thus ethnologically the region is like a jig-saw puzzle with pieces of changing outline, fast, slow, sporadic, seasonal, but each playing its part in the final picture.

V *Arawaks*

101 The Arawaks are farmers on an extremely moderate scale,
[241] and excellent watermen. They inhabit the country adjacent to the rivers Negro, Guainia and Atabapo; the principal tribes being the Banibas, the Barés, the Kuripakos and the Piapocos.
V Coming from the west and south-west they seem to have
[174] occupied the regions gradually and peacefully, advancing east-
000 wards as far as the River Merevari. They have imposed their

[pp. 65-71 not processed]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the 124 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented 847 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage 595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli- 834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos 721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter- 182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

* 621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the 613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal 598 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves 562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal 000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

[Introductory, P. iii]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis [114] shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of Thesis

121 583 582 183 This is a functional study of one form of marriage practiced by the Yąnomamö Indians of southern Venezuela. The form of marriage considered here--recruitment of wives from other villages for the purpose of initiating and maintaining political alliances--constitutes a departure by the Yąnomamö from their preferred form of marriage. I wish to emphasize the point that these marriages constitute a predictable and necessary departure from the ambilateral cross-cousin preferences. I will show in the space below how a number of variables are related to each other to bring about the exceptional marriages.

The fact that normative rules of behavior and actual behavior differ considerably from each other in most societies has received little theoretical attention, particular in regard to analyses of marriage systems. For the most part we presume that exceptions to stated marriage preferences represent a measure of the breakdown of the society under consideration, due to contacts with other societies. Yąnomamö exceptional marriages[1] cannot be dismissed with this line of

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[1] Of 56 recently contracted marriages in three of the villages investigated, 31 cases were breaches of the preferred ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules for the purpose of establishing political ties between the groups of the spouses.

121 reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently
583 uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners
582 have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.
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583 Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are
582 influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within
628 which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as
613 their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

583 The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness
582 of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size
183 and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage
621 of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration
921 of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such
152 that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the resi-
583 dents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage
582 exchanges in general have political and military implications,
621

[621]

[1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

attain a certain size; beyond this point the causes of internal fighting are too numerous for peace to be maintained effectively by kinship ties, and the village breaks up into smaller, more cohesive units. This affects the degree to which deviations from the marriage norm occur: first, the female cross-cousins of an eligible bachelor are usually in villages that are hostile to his own, and he is obliged to seek a spouse in another, currently friendly, village. Secondly, as his own village is now more vulnerable because of its small size, some of its eligible females must be given to men in other villages in order to promote military alliances.

Village size and demography

The significance of demographic data has only recently received recognition in analyses of social systems. The importance of such data in the analysis of marriage practices has been most tellingly illustrated by F. G. Rose's study of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines (1960). Rose was able to show that where men marry women who are considerably younger than themselves, two important consequences follow: primary marriages with father's sister's daughter is effectively prevented, as is the practice of sister exchange.

Similarly, Ackerman (1964), in a critique of Needham's analysis of Purum marriage, showed that demography-dependent data such as frequency of 'marriage acts' (ibid., p. 60) do not support Needham's contention that the Purum

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 578 922 As I mentioned above, after Yąnomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, [241] it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced *621 *628 722 583 582 918 [602] to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Generally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *628 722 583 582 438 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

*623 926 574 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

*623 24 922 361 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-.-.-.-.-.

a 121 583 582 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[926] 182 Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

us the opportunity to estimate the effects of warfare on the nature of marriage practices among a people who are chronically at war, a situation not frequently found in the present ethnographic world.

B. The Data and Field Techniques

Several kinds of data are required to illustrate Yąnomamö marriage practices and the variables affecting them. The most important data are those I obtained from genealogies and the historical relationships between villages.

In total, I have genealogical data on some 3,000 individuals, living and dead, from 15 villages. Not all the data are comparable in quality and I shall confine my discussion to the populations of the five villages for which my data are most complete. These five villages fall into two groups with regard to their historical origins. Three of them have a common history, separating initially about 1943 at which time two villages were formed.[1] One of these split again about 1954 to form two villages, giving a total of 3 separate but closely related villages. The other two of the five selected for this study also have a common history, but are distinct from the first three. For purposes of clarity I will refer to these two villages as Shamatari (see Chapter 5 for discussion). About 1960 the two Shamatari villages split from each other and are presently on good terms.

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[1] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the historical relationships of these villages.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

121 I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yąnomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yąnomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yąnomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

124 The collection of genealogies proved to be the most important and the most difficult task of my field work. The widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living and the dead found in South America, particularly in the Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yąnomamö. Consequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958). Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

19:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1965) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE COMPOSITION, STRUCTURE, AND SIZE

A. Village Composition and Structure

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This thesis deals specifically with Yąnomamö marriage alliances. However, village structure and the dynamics of village splitting must be discussed before alliances as such can be understood; we must comprehend the nature of the groups that ally themselves to each other before attempting to make sense of the 'alliances.' In many respects, the process of village splitting provides the circumstances under which alliances are both desirable and necessary, for the circumstances of village splitting usually result in military situations whose solutions are best effected by the creation of affinal (marriage) ties with new groups. Newly-established villages are usually militarily vulnerable because they are invariably small, and the members of such groups are constrained, by defense requirements, to enter into alliances with their new neighbors after they split from their agnates. In most instances, the agnates from whom small groups split are in fact the group posing the military threat.[1] Yąnomamö village dynamics over time (the process of village splitting and establishing alliances) is, therefore, a function of

[1] See Chapter V on the histories of particular villages.

internal feuding that promotes splitting, and threat of raids from other groups that inhibits village splitting and/or promotes the establishment of alliances with other groups. These two forces shape the composition and structure of Yąnomamö villages; that is, these two forces impinge on kinship relationships and together with these latter determine the nature of the Yąnomamö village.

I will show in Chapter V that larger villages fragment into smaller groups when internal feuding becomes particularly intense, but are occasionally forced to re-unite when warfare threatens the splinter groups. Yąnomamö villages would remain small if there were no military forces working on them. The Patanowä-tedi, for example, attempted to split into three groups after separating from the Bisaasi-tedi;[1] the three factions re-combined, however, when one of them was attacked by the Hasaböwä-tedi. Similarly, the non-Patanowä-tedi faction of the split (Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi) likewise split into smaller factions after the threat of raids from the outside subsided. Again, these recombined when threat of raids was imminent.

Irrespective of the conditions of the splitting, the newly formed villages approximate a dual organization of inter-marrying moieties in structure. This form of organization is implicit in the Iroquois kinship terminology, sister exchange, and ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules. Dual

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[1] See Map C and Chapter V.

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CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, PatanowĘ-tedi, MŌmaribŌwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called ParuritawĘ-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

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historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowä-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

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I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yanomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mõmaribõwei-tedi and Reyabobõwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

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CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 721 582 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

[1]After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

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likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

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[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

121 two major structural problems: the lack of corporate functions
58 of the local descent groups due to the nature of the corpor-
602 ation's estate, and the ambiguous nature of agnatic kinship
613 ties. Within a framework such as this, affinal ties are capable of promoting solidarity between corporate groups because marriages among the Yanomamö are political alliances that involve military obligations. Local descent groups enter into marriage alliances to advance their military status; the context, therefore, within which marriages are contracted decidely influences the relationships between the corporate groups in question.

121 The debate between Fortes and Leach arose out of the interpretation of the importance of matrilateral kinship ties in patrilineal societies, as these ties are the focal points in any analysis of the means by which solidarity is achieved between corporate descent groups. Briefly, Fortes maintained that the solidarity between lineal descent groups was ultimately due to the inherent tendency of kinship to promote amity. Leach, on the other hand, argues that such an analysis confuses affinal relationships with descent and fails to take notice of the effects of the economic and political contexts within which marriages take place.

Leach drew attention to the fact that ethnological perspectives developed from analyses of patrilineal societies such as the Nuer, Tiv, and Tallensi have biased later workers to focus their attention on lineal corporations and on the common descent ties between corporations when they analyze

• 121 societies characterized by lineal descent. The result has been that structural ties between different lineal corporations that are based on marriage have largely been ignored, or have been assimilated into the discussion of descent:

> Thus Fortes (1953), while recognizing that ties of affinity have comparable importance to ties of descent, disguises the former under his expression of 'complementary filiation.' . . . marriage ties, as such, do not form part of the structural system. They are of interest only because they serve to distinguish the individuals from one another.
> (Leach, 1957:54.)

Leach then argues that his data from Burma demonstrate that affinal ties are in fact a part of the social structure; the issue then is whether the existence of important matrilateral kinship ties in these societies can best be understood by treating the social organization as a 'double-unilineal descent' system, or by examining the relationship between 'corporateness' and 'descent.' He pursues the second alternative, showing that the Burmese natives do not conceive of the matrilateral ties as descent and pointing out that marriage alliances between the corporate groups result in economic relationships that bind them to each other. These economic relationships, Leach shows, are the real bases of solidarity between the groups. He then concludes that the context--economic and political--within which marriage operates is critical to an analysis of the stability brought about between lineal descent groups by the marriages.

Fortes (1959b:209) recognizes the importance of explaining the ties between corporate descent groups, but

• 121 emphasizes the importance of the inherent qualities of kinship in effecting this solidarity:

> It seems to me that a social structure based on an association of exogamous, corporate patrilineal descent groups is not likely to hold together in a permanent political system unless it is either subject to some form of overriding, centralized government, or is knit together in the field of dyadic social relations by a web of kinship ties that counter-balance the centrifugal tendencies of the descent groups; and the main mechanism involved is complementary filiation, not marriage as such.

To Fortes, the ties that unite lineal descent groups arise out of the 'web of kinship' and the inherent properties of cognatic kinship itself. Inter-group stability

> . . . is the result, not of marriage, but of ties of cognatic kinship mediated by combinations of links of matrilateral filiation operating in a complementary way to patrilateral filiation and patrilineal descent. (1959a:195)

The reason that cognatic kinship, rather than affinal ties, is capable of bringing about the stability between corporate descent groups is that

> . . . kinship, being an irreducible factor in social structure, has an axiomatic validity as a sanction of amity and solidarity. (1959b:209)

Thus, we have two distinct interpretations regarding the source of solidarity that stabilizes relationships between lineal descent groups. Leach maintains that we must examine the context within which marriages between corporate groups are contracted to see if the relationship between descent and corporateness itself constitutes part of the stability. Fortes, arguing from first principles, attributes the stability to inherent properties of the 'web of kinship.'

114 121 602 Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes, and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a political context that promotes military obligations and concomitants not predictable from first principles regarding the putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange [613] [583] [582] [724] [631] women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a function of the politico-military ends served by marriage and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

121 I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomamö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

121 frequently include as elements of their estates, exclusive rights to myths, ritual functions, names and emblems. Finally, rights over persons with respect to their relationships to both property and other persons constitute the last category of elements commonly found in most lineal descent group corporations.[1]

Ethnological discussions of corporate lineal descent groups and of their principle of recruitment by descent usually focus on property. This has been characteristic of the re-examination of Polynesian social organization (Goodenough, 1955; Firth, 1957; Davenport, 1959) and of cognatic kinship systems (Murdock, 1960). Thus Davenport redefines descent in such a way that cognatic societies may be said to have corporate descent groups (ibid., p. 558). He was prompted to define descent in this way by the fact that these cognatic groups function like lineal descent groups with regard to regulating the relationships between group members and real estate.[2]

It is important, however, to recognize that estates may consist of rights other than those involving control of real property and that special problems arise in societies

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[1] See Radcliffe-Brown, 1935 and Befu and Plotnicov, 1962, for a general discussion of estates and corporate lineal descent group types.

[2] See also Goodenough, 1955. Note that Fried (1957) has established a classification of corporate lineal descent groups that is based in large measure on the relationships of members of the groups to 'strategic resources.' For the most part, these resources are real property.

121 having such estates, particularly in those societies to
613 which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö
562 corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing
421 of female members belonging to that corporation. As such,
males and females have different kinds of shares in the
corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more
rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obli-
[423] gations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they
[341] are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into
[424] virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do
not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

121 It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between <u>societies</u> having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the lineality of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

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[184] [1]This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2]I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3]See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

new functions for the corporation, thus leading to greater integration among its members. These qualities are weak or absent in descent corporations which lack real property. The Yanomamö descent group corporation, therefore, presents a number of theoretical problems not encountered in the study of societies having corporations whose estate consists, above all, of real property.[1]

One of the problems is the definition of the group by a criteria other than descent alone; both descent and residence are critical in recruiting members to the corporation. The factor of residence as a criterion of recruiting members into corporate groups has been dealt with by Firth (1957). He showed how residence was critical in establishing affiliation to 'ambilateral' (ramage) descent groups among the Tikopians, and how individuals, in some cases, have a choice ('option') in affiliating with one of a number of lines of descent in, for example, the Maori hapu. Although Firth argued that property alone was not the basis of the individual choices,

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dynamics and Sahlins (1963) for a discussion of the important difference between group dogma and group composition.

[1] I do not think that the problems raised can be satisfactorily solved by classifying corporations by function. The Yanomamö have a solidarity problem largely, I feel, because the descent groups compete rather than cooperate. It would seem that the overall integration of this or any society would be enhanced by the existence of additional corporate group functions besides the disposition of marriageable females. In order to appreciate the contribution land controlling corporations have in total social integration, we must distinguish landed societies from others.

12 he acknowledged that the corporation did in fact function in the context of property control as well, suggesting once again that the nature of the estate (land) accounts for the quality of the corporation: that is, that the functions of the corporation are seen to lie largely in the regulation of real estate.

Leach (1963)[1] drew attention to the analytical significance of the local descent group in terms of its function in arranging marriages. He argued that the social groups that arrange marriages in tribal societies are essentially the same in all such societies: they comprise local males of three generations who live together. Membership in these social groups necessarily depends on residence. Yanomamö descent groups are of this type: to participate in the disposition of local females, one must be related to the patrilineally, as well as live in the same village with them. Both the importance of the marriage arranging functions of the Yanomamö descent group and the lack of other corporate functions seems to account for the fact that affinal ties promote inter-group solidarity in a way that consanguineal ties can not.

12 On the basis of these findings, Leach's approach to the analysis of social organization would seem to hold more promise in the analysis of marriage alliance systems. To the extent that cultural variables such as warfare and the nature of marriage ties demonstrably affect the outcome of

[1] The article to which I refer, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," was originally published in 1951.

• 121 marriage practice, these necessarily constitute components of the social structure and must be considered in the analysis. By the same token, structural analyses that fail to take into account these kinds of variables should be permitted to fall by the wayside, for they can never lead us to adequate description let alone prediction. Leach's summary of his analysis of Sinhalese social organization applies also to this exercise:

> The study of social structure in societies organized according to unilineal descent has not only thrown the emphasis on kinship but has given the impression that kinship structures can be considered in isolation, without reference to the economic [and political, N.C.] background. It has also suggested that social structure is a matter of clearly defined rules, e.g., of descent, of inheritance, and of preferential marriage. In the society considered in this essay social structure is likewise a matter of kinship, but kinship arrangements are not clearly constrained by rules. . . . Although, as in other primitive and peasant societies, the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behavior is not constrained by the existence of kinship corporations. (1960:123)

Although Leach's summary came in a paper dealing with a society characterized by cognatic kinship and social organization, his observations likewise hold for a large number of societies organized along lineal descent principles.

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Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

Napoleon Chagnon was born the second of twelve children in Port Austin, Michigan, in 1938. He is married and has two children. At present he is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and holds a joint appointment as Research Associate in the Department of Human Genetics, University of Michigan Medical School. This department has developed a long-term project for the study of the Yąnomamö from a medical-genetics viewpoint in a team approach involving specialists in several fields. Dr. Chagnon is the ethnological member of the team. He began his academic training in the Michigan College of Mining and Technology, but switched to anthropology, receiving a B.A. in anthropology at the University of Michigan in 1961, an M.A. in 1963, and a Ph.D. in 1966. He has spent nineteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö of Venezuela and Brazil, studying demography, social organization, and warfare, and about one month with the Carib-speaking Makiritare of Brazil and Venezuela, studying social organization. He has published several articles in *Natural History* and *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* and has presented papers at meetings of the American Anthropological Association and the National Academy of Science. He plans to remain in the Yąnomamö in several field trips over the next three years, having completed two cooperative trips with members of the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Cientificas.

About the Book

This is indeed a book about a fierce people. Yąnomamö culture, in its major focus, reverses the meanings of "good" and "desirable" as phrased in the ideal postulates of the Judaic-Christian tradition. A high capacity for rage, a quick flash point, and a will-

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ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-ladened terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomohomi*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinkmanship, all too familiar to us.

The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

of them anxious to help me and honor bound to show any visitor the numerous courtesies of their system of etiquette. In short, they approached the image of primitive man that I had conjured up, and it was sheer pleasure to work with them. The recent work by Colin Turnbull (1966) brings out dramatically the contrast in personal characteristics of two African peoples he has studied.

Hence, what I say about some of my experiences is probably equally true of the experiences of many other fieldworkers. I write about my own experiences because there is a conspicuous lack of fieldwork descriptions available to potential fieldworkers. I think I could have profited by reading about the private misfortunes of my own teachers; at least I might have been able to avoid some of the more stupid errors I made. In this regard there are a number of recent contributions by fieldworkers describing some of the discomforts and misfortunes they themselves sustained.[3] Students planning to conduct fieldwork are urged to consult them.

My first day in the field illustrated to me what my teachers meant when they spoke of "culture shock." I had traveled in a small, aluminum rowboat propelled by a large outboard motor for two and a half days. This took me from the Territorial capital, a small town on the Orinoco River, deep into Yąnomamö country. On the morning of the third day we reached a small mission settlement, the field "headquarters" of a group of Americans who were working in two Yąnomamö villages. The missionaries had come out of these villages to hold their annual conference on the progress of their mission work, and were conducting their meetings when I arrived. We picked up a passenger at the mission station, James P. Barker, the first non-Yąnomamö to make a sustained, permanent contact with the tribe (in 1950). He had just returned from a year's furlough in the United States, where I had earlier visited him before leaving for Venezuela. He agreed to accompany me to the village I had selected for my base of operations to introduce me to the Indians. This village was also his own home base, but he had not been there for over a year and did not plan to join me for another three months. Mr. Barker had been living with this particular group about five years.

We arrived at the village, Bisaasi-teri, about 2:00 PM and docked the boat along the muddy bank at the terminus of the path used by the Indians to fetch their drinking water. It was hot and muggy, and my clothing was soaked with perspiration. It clung uncomfortably to my body, as it did thereafter for the remainder of the work. The small, biting gnats were out in astronomical numbers, for it was the beginning of the dry season. My face and hands were swollen from the venom of their numerous stings. In just a few moments I was to meet my first Yąnomamö, my first primitive man. What would it be like? I had visions of entering the village and seeing 125 social facts running about calling each other kinship terms and sharing food, each waiting and anxious to have me collect his genealogy. I would wear them out in turn. Would they like me? This was important to me; I wanted them to be so fond of me that they would adopt me into their kinship system and way of life, because I had heard that successful anthropologists always get adopted by their people. I had learned during my seven years of

[3] Maybury-Lewis 1967, "Introduction," and 1965*b*; Turnbull, 1966; L. Bohannan, 1964. Perhaps the most intimate account of the tribulations of a fieldworker is found in the posthumous diary of Bronislaw Malinowski (1967). Since the diary was not written for publication, it contains many intimate, very personal details about the writers' anxieties and hardships.

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anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chasing, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisiasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

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that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating.

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point, I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome, since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution.

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village.

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[8] across the river. I knew that if

[8]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe.

114 I overlooked this incident I would have invited them to take even greater liberties with
123 my goods in the future. I crossed the river, docked amidst their dugouts, and shouted for the Indians to come out and see me. A few of the culprits appeared, mischievous grins on their faces. I gave a spirited lecture about how hard I had worked to put those boards in my canoe, how I had paid a machete for the wood, and how angry I was that they destroyed my work in their haste to cross the river. I then pulled out my hunting knife and, while their grins disappeared, cut each of their canoes loose, set it into the current, and let them float away. I left without further ado and without looking back.

They managed to borrow another canoe and, after some effort, retrieved their dugouts. The headman of the village later told me with an approving chuckle that I had done the correct thing. Everyone in the village, except, of course, the culprits, supported and defended my action. This raised my status.

Whenever I took such action and defended my rights, I got along much better with the Yąnomamö. A good deal of their behavior toward me was directed with the forethought of establishing the point at which I would react defensively. Many of them later reminisced about the early days of my work when I was "timid" and a little afraid of them, and they could bully me into giving goods away.

Theft was the most persistent situation that required me to take some sort of defensive action. I simply could not keep everything I owned locked in trunks, and the Indians came into my hut and left at will. I developed a very effective means for recovering almost all the stolen items. I would simply ask a child who took the item and then take that person's hammock when he was not around, giving a spirited lecture to the others as I marched away in a faked rage with the thief's hammock. Nobody ever attempted to stop me from doing this, and almost all of them told me that my technique for recovering my possessions was admirable. By nightfall the thief would either appear with the stolen object or send it along with someone else to make an exchange. The others would heckle him for getting caught and being forced to return the item.

121 With respect to collecting the data I sought, there was a very frustrating problem.
124 Primitive social organization is kinship organization, and to understand the Yąnomamö
55 way of life I had to collect extensive genealogies. I could not have deliberately picked
114 a more difficult group to work with in this regard: They have very stringent name taboos. They attempt to name people in such a way that when the person dies and they can no longer use his name, the loss of the word in the language is not inconvenient. Hence, they name people for specific and minute parts of things, such as "toenail of some rodent," thereby being able to retain the words "toenail" and "(specific) rodent," but not being able to refer directly to the toenail of that rodent. The taboo is maintained even for the living. One mark of prestige is the courtesy others show you by not using your name. The sanctions behind the taboo seem to be an unusual combination of fear and respect.

114 I tried to use kinship terms to collect genealogies at first, but the kinship terms
123 were so ambiguous that I ultimately had to resort to names. They were quick to grasp
124 that I was bound to learn everybody's name and reacted, without my knowing it, by
60 inventing false names for everybody in the village. After having spent several months
55 collecting names and learning them, this came as a disappointment to me: I could not cross-check the genealogies with other informants from distant villages.

3

Social Organization

128 THREE ASPECTS of Yąnomamö social organization will be dealt with: the ideal rules about marriage and the logical consequence of these rules—actual cases of Yąnomamö marriage are compared to the pattern of ideal marriage to justify the use of a model to describe Yąnomamö social structure; the demographic and political factors that bring about discrepancies between actual behavior and ideal behavior; the more important aspects of the division of labor and of ordinary daily life in the society.

Social Structure

121 128 [582] [602] This section is the most technical portion of the chapter; careful study of the diagrams is required as the text is read. Kinship is the heart of primitive social structure, and it must be understood in detail rather than through generalities. The rules governing marriage, along with the kinship system, together comprise and delineate the structure of Yąnomamö society. There is no simple way to present the data, which itself is frequently boring to even accomplished anthropologists, and students of anthropology must sooner or later come to grips with this important topic. Fortunately, the Yąnomamö kinship system is the type most commonly found among the world's primitives and it is, comparatively speaking, quite easy to grasp once the patterns in the diagram are spotted.

128 The important features of Yąnomamö social structure are represented in the model shown in Fig. 3-1. This diagram is based on an analysis of Yąnomamö marriage rules, kinship terminology, and other social and ideological features characteristic of their behavior. The symbols given in the legend of Fig. 3-1 will also be used in the diagrams that follow. It should be borne in mind that the model is only an ideal representation of Yąnomamö society; we shall see below how closely actual behavior conforms to this model. One of the objectives of structural anthropology is to attempt comparisons of different kinds of societies by using models of this type. In the discussions that follow I shall present some actual field data to justify the use of this model to represent Yąnomamö social structure.

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4

Political Alliances, Trading and Feasting

YĄNOMAMÖ FEASTS take place only when one sovereign group entertains the members of another, allied group. Feasts, in brief, are political events. To be sure, economic and ceremonial implications are also significant, but these are relatively minor when compared to the functions of the feast in the context of forming alliances. The chief purpose of entertaining allies is to reaffirm and cultivate intervillage solidarity in the intimate, sociable context of food presentations, thereby putting the ally under obligation to reciprocate the feast in his own village at a later date, bringing about another feast and even more solidarity.

I will describe in this chapter some of the relationships between trade, economic specialization, historical ties between groups, warfare, and intervillage marriage exchanges, all of which are intimately connected and interact with each other in the process of developing political alliances.

I described in Chapter 2 how the members of independent villages cultivated friendships with each other in the process of establishing themselves in a loose network of allied villages. I then showed in Chapter 3 how Kąobawä's followers were related to him and how he, in turn, was related to the members of several other villages. Now I will take up some of the political consequences of the historical ties and how they shape and mould the nature of specific contemporary relationships between Kąobawä's group and those which have political dealings with it. To illustrate this, I will describe the details of a particular feast in the context of the political ties, both historical and contemporary, existing between Kąobawä's group and the guests at the feast. First, however, I will comment on Yąnomamö alliances in general.

General Features of Alliances

One of the expectations and implications of alliance is that the partners are under obligation to provide shelter and sustenance to each other whenever one of them is driven from his village and garden by a powerful enemy. The beleaguered partner may be